1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 562 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to [222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 868 857 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 411 501 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

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CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

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FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

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BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

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ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

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The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

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Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

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Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

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The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. *2.* Yaruro camp at El Buron. Note the lack of shelter. *3.* Yaruro dugout canoes.

(End Plate 6)